461 the principal source of cash, where the returns to labour are relatively low.[1] Here families of procreation and orientation often form a single work group where parents, without cash crops of their own, are called upon to assist their children. The work groups are largest (2.9 persons) for pulping where the crude methods used are especially inefficient. The marketing of rubber involves work groups of a mean size of 1.9 persons since the product has a higher weight-value ratio than coffee and is also bulkier.

A relationship appears to exist between the 'hardness' of the work (in terms of energy expenditure and the capacity of one person to handle it) and the size of the work group. The affiliation of members of such groups is extremely varied and appears to be based largely on considerations of residence as it is exceptional for members of a Sivepe-initiated work group to be drawn from outside the village.

Apart from the activities described there is a variety of communal tasks initiated by an external agency and there are others which apparently originate elsewhere but operate through an agent within the village. Establishment of the communal cash crop garden and the pre-Christmas hunting drives both fall within this latter category and work groups exceeding twenty people were often associated with them. Of the two, the hunting drives were most successful since the type of organisation and techniques used were essentially traditional - beaters drive the game towards a long staked net where they are speared by the netsmen.

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[476] Because of relative unfamiliarity with most forms of co-operative effort, communal activities initiated by the external agencies generally prove unsuccessful. Where they are customary, as in sago-making, an immediate return against assistance rendered is frequently obtained. No such immediate or tangible returns are associated with many of the communal activities initiated by the external agencies.

128 **The activity patterns of selected individuals**

The preceding pages have been concerned with a strictly quantitative analysis of the behaviour of a population of 38 adults. Here closer consideration is given to six individuals, representing a range of 'types', with the object of exploring possible relationships between work and the more qualitative factors of family, status, values and aspirations.

159 554 Linton. The main material criteria used in assessing individual status are diligence in work, generosity, wealth in terms of both cash and traditional valuables (di-hambo) and abundance of yams. By all these standards Linton ranks very highly in the village,

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1 See p.292. A 4

A,[See Category 433, p.292--Analyst]

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

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his position being acknowledged by the widest range of people. Although in no sense a 'director' of village affairs he was the last villager to receive an otohu[1] and the first to obtain any formal education.[2] His position is therefore derived from his apparent ability to encompass both the 'old' and the 'new' ways, thereby gaining the respect of most members of the community. This elevation in his status is a recent development, not evident during Rimoldi's stay in the village, and in all probability influenced by the fact that he is an adopted member of Timumu clan and only 38 years old.

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A married man with five children, he lives next door to his ageing step-father and mother giving them, as well as other elder villagers, considerable gifts of food and assistance with such customary group enterprises as clearing garden sites, harvesting yams and house construction. Further, with an age mate from Soho clan, he accepted full responsibility for the organisation of the major sago-making venture during the dry season, at the request of his mother's brother. Among younger members of the village his stature is derived from extensive experience in paid employment[3] and his active interest in and responsible approach to cash-producing activities within the village.

Linton has the largest cultivated area of those surveyed and the largest holding of yams. Also, being the owner of a shotgun, an active coffee grower,[4] an OCGS shareholder and, during the survey, erecting a house of local materials under contract for Saiho hospital, his commitment to the external economy is both varied and substantial.

1
The otohu was an ornament presented to selected initiates which conferred on them important social obligations. In a discussion of the nature and purpose of the otohu Williams (1930:204-5) states: 'Adjectivally, the word seems to indicate "well-behaved" in the widest sense of the term. It was applied to a law-abiding and amenable member of society, and perhaps the nearest equivalent in our language would be "decent" or "respectable". The emphasis is certainly laid on the milder virtues rather than the more heroic. Thus a man was otohu or otohu-ambo who did not quarrel, who did not beat his wife or children, who did not ill-treat his dogs and pigs, and who did not steal.... Diligence bears some part of this rather complex ideal, and so certainly does generosity....
We may conclude, therefore, that the possession of an otohu does involve a social obligation. It is an honour and a privilege bestowed by society, but it means that the recipient should settle down as a thoroughly amenable member of that society.' In Linton's case the otohu was presented at a specially arranged ceremony, apparently in acknowledgement of his upholding of traditional Orokaiva values.

2
He spent a year at Isivita school prior to the second world war.

3
A total of 9½ years spent, largely in an unskilled capacity, in Port Moresby, Lae, Salamaua and elsewhere in the Northern District.

4
Although without a coffee garden of his own, he has successfully asserted a claim to trees acquired by another Timumu man following the subdivision of a communal planting established about 1956. See Rimoldi 1968:53-4 for a description of this planting.

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23

461 512 infant children, partly because he suffered from a leg ulcer for some weeks, but also partly because of the social aspect of such visits.

In all, productive tasks account for 32 hours, or 65 per cent of the total for the week, and two-thirds of this amount is spent in activities in the subsistence sector. Of the weekly total of 49.6 hours, 11.3 hours or 23 per cent are related to the monetary sector and external agencies such as the mission.

472 [159] Lawrence. Aged 36, Lawrence is the leading man and entrepreneur. He is married and has four children, the eldest being a boy of twelve. Although he only reached standard IV at the mission school, he became a mission teacher and spent four of his five and a half years in this occupation in New Britain. He subsequently spent periods while resident in the village as a labourer and carpenter's assistant and served for two years as elected local government councillor for the villages of Inonda, Hohota, Mosou, Ajoro and Sewa. Lawrence acquired 230 coffee trees from his classificatory father and has rights to over 100 mature coconut palms. In 1963, he opened the trade store in the village. In November 1964 he had a total cultivated area of 1.23 acres, of which 0.9 acres were under taro. Unlike most other households, he has no sweet potato garden and only a token number of yam vines, cultivating banana, corn and Xanthosoma instead as subsidiary crops.[1] His household has a lower area of food garden per member than all but one other household and he spends less time in subsistence gardening than all the six selected individuals apart from Bemba.[2] Like most household heads, he is rarely absent from the village. During the survey he spent two days at a feast which almost everyone in the village attended, two days visiting his wife's father in hospital, two in Port Moresby with the researchers, one on work for the Administration during the national elections and one caring for his sick daughter. In addition, he was inactive through sickness - mainly influenza - for nine days.

Through a combination of several factors, including his position as senior resident member of the Andiriha clan, and the knowledge and experience gained during his periods as teacher and councillor, Lawrence is developing his entrepreneurial skills towards the

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1 The same pattern was evident for this household in 1962 (G. Hogbin: personal communication).

2 However, Lawrence's household is above average in terms of cultivated area per able-bodied person.

husbands of his sisters' daughters, as is customary. Most of all, he was a careful man who put whatever he accumulated to the most prudent use. In his capacity of clan leader and village leader, he controlled two corporate savings accounts, one of $158, the other smaller and secret; people had full confidence that deposits were entirely safe in his care. Though he would never express himself in such terms, he was actually leading his people into a state of solid and (hopefully) economically viable peasantry.

I asked him what he thought were the qualifications of a leader. A leader, he said, must be very smart and understanding, have a lot of garden and make a feast; then the people will join him. They don't appoint him but he stands out by his farming, gardening, feasts. He is usually an elderly man.

Not only Lawrence, but also all other informants insisted that leadership was not hereditary, even though a leader may desire a certain son to succeed him. After the old leader is dead, the living are free to make their own decision. Lawrence rejected the idea that the councillors are the present leaders of the community. The ancestors, he said, decided what people ought to do. They had talked all this over. Then the "two-bob councillors" came; all they care about is to carry out the government's orders. They don't really direct the people. All the same, Lawrence was well aware of the influence of the councillors. It was when they were established, he said, that the old way of thinking was upset. The village constable did not make important changes, though sometimes people went to jail for some trouble. In spite of these views, Lawrence went to no particular trouble to keep old customs alive; when he entertained Togahou village, there were far fewer ceremonial features than I saw at a feast at Inonda.

As an informant I found him entertaining but of limited usefulness. He was at first very reluctant, and later allowed himself to be interviewed, using the occasion as a battle of wits. Never once did he tell a direct lie, but his answers were cunningly planned with the intent to mislead. My part of the game was to get at the truth and in this game he was a most ingenious opponent. Sometimes he tried to conceal what seemed to me a most innocuous piece of information; thus, he alerted me to institutions I might otherwise have overlooked. No statement he made could be accepted on its face value. In this he differed from other informants less in intent than in ingenuity.

The other key personalities at the time of my visit were all Jegase. As I had been apportioned to my clan, they were much more helpful with information. They adopted me as a sort of fictional clansman whereas to Lawrence I must have been a fictional affine. My closest associate in the village was actually the son-in-law Lawrence disliked, Robert, my neighbour. He was a man of about 32 who had most of the qualities admired by the Orokaiva: a fine dancer, with charm, modest bearing, wisdom and foresight in handling social situations and conflicts; he was generous with his possessions and did not importune others for gifts; he was a good gardener, builder and worker, ready

123 554 159 to help others; he spoke softly and gently but when necessary could be firm and tough; furthermore, he had a relatively wide experience of the outside world. He had been a hunting leader before this task was transferred to the representative of the church council; he was also a leader in football. He came of a lineage with small land holdings in the Sivepe area, but his father had bought rights to additional holdings (with money Robert had earned) and his mother's brother had given him the use of other blocks Robert will eventually inherit.

159 When we came to the district he had just started his new house and was living, like many others in a small older one he had brought from Old Sivepe. He sold us his new house and stayed in the smaller one until we had gone. Though his house was thus among the most primitive in the village, it attracted more village visitors than any other; Robert and his rather attractive wife were popular. When the women's club house was to be built, and when Lawrence had given the land, it was Robert to whom the women turned as a work leader. It was also Robert who decided that the work on the village houses and the mission hospital had more urgency (and that the clubhouse had better wait until it had ceased being a pawn in female factionism). Robert went to Port Moresby for a few months after a violent episode in his tumultuous marriage, hoping he would earn enough money to open a trade store.

He had about four years of working experience outside the village, as a houseboy, with the A.P.C. and on road work. Since then it was his ambition to start in business; in the early sixties, Jegase seems to have made some attempt at a trade store with disastrous results. He hoped to do better the next time, but a trade store opened up in an offshoot of Sasembata village just next to Sivepe, so that this is destined to remain a dream. Robert composed several songs over the year, and was constantly practising his drum. People usually waited for him before a dance practise could start, though he was not formally the dance leader. He also managed all the diplomatic manoeuvers necessitated by our presence. He did this with great honesty; I [123 could always rely on all he said. Indeed, if it had not been for him 115] at all. He also piloted us through the maze of the Orokaiva exchange system. He was the only person who never imposed on us, never asked for gifts. There was perhaps some calculation in this, as we were more disposed to respond to generosity than to the sharp trading engaged in by some others.

He had stood as a candidate for the council two years earlier but had been defeated, partly due to opposition from his affines. His first formal leadership role (apart from hunting and football) was as representative for Sivepe on the land adjudication committee. His father-in-law would have been better qualified, as he knew the land boundaries better, but he could not hold both committee posts simultaneously. It was interesting to see that in this situation, where the

159 external representation of Sivepe was at stake, the two men worked together admirably as a team. Lawrence solved the tricky problems of partitioning blocks shared between villages with a speed which would make any surveyor envious, and got agreement from the other parties because the solutions he proposed seemed fair. Robert carried out his own function of seeing that the working parties came together, that the clearing work was done for the survey posts, and so on. However, when I took them both to Popondetta in my car, they had very little to say to each other. When I told Lawrence who his companion was to be, he gave me a look of mock despair. (He had a different look of mock despair for my use of the Orokaiva language.)

[829] Robert was more deeply involved with mission values than any of the others. He was the only one to have recognised that our [126] civilisation actually does have some moral values. I recorded stories [124] from a great many informants on tape--the subjects being usually selected by the informant for these longer texts. Robert was the only one to have chosen themes overtly showing a mission influence: one story was about a Father Holland who was betrayed to the Japanese by Orokaiva during the war; the other story was his own version of Adam and Eve and the Fall, to which he gave a splendid Orokaiva twist: God, dismissing the couple from the Garden of Eden, said: "For a long time you will have sorrowful days and be sad, but also you will have happy days and be happy. Thus he spoke and all of us today live in this manner."

571 To conclude these impressionistic sketches, I shall suggest a
157 contrast between the leadership of Sivepe and Inonda. When we consider the two men just described, or Samuel, the village constable, Robert's father and the councillor, an immigrant from Binduta, we notice that none of them stood out from the rest of the village by superior wealth. Certainly, Robert's father once gave a pig feast in Sivepe; he had some savings and gave another small feast while I was in the village, but he stood out mainly in virtue of his role and his personality. The councillor was a consummate actor who exuded a great air of authority while he was in the council. But in Inonda, the village constable, Oriri, was at the same time an entrepreneur, the first cash cropper. He was also the occupier of a strikingly larger area of land than anyone else had. His son, Stephen, the driver, likewise was very much an entrepreneur, both in his cash-cropping ventures and in his attempt at a trade store, at trading in coffee, in vegetables and lately, his application for a loan to start a cattle farm. He is not intending to do the farming himself, but wants to have a younger brother-in-law trained, and he is to work under Stephen's supervision.

Both Stephen and Oriri still continue their interest in traditional observances. The father, who lives on a returned serviceman's section where he grows cocoa, came back to his home village to act as feast leader in 1967. This was very much a traditional affair, with a proper feast house, a ceremony to call down the spirits, chants and dances for the spirits for several weeks, something Sivepe would